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166 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 314 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaa, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was 18,471. [563] The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This figure is open to doubt. [641] For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such. As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

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Abolition of visas. An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

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Illegal Entries. The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

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Bahrain Nationality. During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

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Passport Official's Course. Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions. 648

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island. 423 641 ● 167 648 486

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.¹

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation. 471 648

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

¹ This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

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2nd, That without the assent of the British Government, I will not consent to the residence within my territory of the agent of any other Government.

3rd, That I will on no account cede, sell, mortgage, or otherwise give for occupation any part of my territory save to the British Government.

Dated Bahrein, 13 March 1892, corresponding with 14th Shaaban, 1309.

Esau bin Ali
Chief of Bahrein

A. C. Talbot, Lieut.-Col.
Resident, Persian Gulf

Lansdowne
Viceroy and Gov. Gl. of India

Ratified by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India at Simla on the twelfth day of May, 1892.

H. M. Durand
Secretary to the Gov't. of India, Foreign Dept.

III

Undertaking by the Sheik of Bahrein, regarding oil, 1914.
(Translation of a letter dated the 18th of Jamadi II, 1332 (May 14, 1914) from Sheik Isa Bin Ali Al Khalifah, Chief of Bahrein, to Major A. P. Trevor, C.I.E., Political Agent, Bahrein):

I have received your esteemed letter No. 531, dated the 18th Jamadi II 1332 (May 14, 1914), on the subject of the possibility of obtaining kerosene oil in Bahrein. Just as I informed your honor in my letter, dated the 17th Jamadi-us-sani 1332, when the time comes for obtaining it I will certainly consult the Political Agency. I do hereby repeat to you that if there is any prospect of obtaining kerosene oil in my territory, I will not embark on the exploitation of it myself and will not entertain overtures from any quarter regarding it without consulting the Political Agent in Bahrein and without the approval of the High Government.

This is what had to be said. May you be preserved and salams.

IV

641 Bahrein Nationality Law

ARTICLE I.

The following are considered to be Bahrein nationals:

- (a) All persons born in Bahrein before or after the date of this Law except as provided for in Article II.

- (b) Persons born abroad before or after the date of this Law whose fathers or paternal grandfathers were born in Bahrain, except persons whose fathers during the minority of such persons registered at the Political Agency in Bahrain in accordance with Article II or might have so registered if resident in Bahrain. 641

ARTICLE II.

Persons born in Bahrain before or after the date of this Law whose fathers at the time of those persons' birth possessed the nationality of another State shall not be considered to be Bahrain nationals:

- (a) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date on which they attain the age of 18, if then resident in Bahrain, or within one year of the date of the commencement of the residence in Bahrain if not then resident in Bahrain; or
- (b) if they register at the Political Agency within one year of the date of the Promulgation of this Law if they have already attained the age of 18 and are resident in Bahrain; or
- (c) if they shall have been registered at the Political Agency within two years of their birth or if their birth shall have been registered within two years of its occurrence.

ARTICLE III.

A person who possesses Bahrain nationality shall lose it:

- (a) if he voluntarily acquires by naturalization the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrain nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrain, either on application of that person or *proprio motu*;
- (b) if he also possesses the nationality of another State, and an order cancelling his Bahrain nationality is given by the Ruler of Bahrain on the application of that person.

ARTICLE IV.

(1) A woman who marries a Bahrain national shall acquire Bahrain nationality and a woman of Bahrain nationality who marries a foreigner shall lose Bahrain nationality if and when she acquires the nationality of her husband but not otherwise.

(2) A woman who has acquired Bahrain nationality by marriage shall lose it when divorced or a widow if she acquires or possesses another nationality. Bahrain nationality may be restored to her by an order of the Ruler of Bahrain given on her application.

ARTICLE V.

The Ruler of Bahrain may grant Bahrain nationality to any person resident in Bahrain who applies for it and may subsequently cancel the grant if such persons ceases to reside in Bahrain.

Bahrain, 17 February, 1937

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The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

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With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.¹⁰

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The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

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Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS

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The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.¹¹ Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

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The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

¹⁰ See any number of *al-Qaflah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

¹¹ As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

648 as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

167 Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until
563 recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction.
511 Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly
641 of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain—they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

563 The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British.
578 They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

563 As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosad-daq was regarded as a liberator—in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

[486] The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the
641 position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain
471 became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land
563 registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

641 did, or sell out and return to the mother country. Those who remained are
 471 engaged either in trade or employed by the oil company or some other
 563 business establishment. In the last few years the government has been re-
 fusing to grant citizenship to Persian residents even though they may
 legally qualify.¹²

162 The Indians, the second largest foreign community, are in a certain sense
 563 in a position similar to that of the Persians. Bahrain, like other principalities
 648 in the Persian Gulf, has had a long association with the subcontinent
 through trade. In 1913, when the Bahrain Order-in-Council was passed, the
 country became administratively subject to the jurisdiction of the Governor-
 General of India.

563 The Indians constitute a prosperous and fairly well educated community.
 511 Some are engaged in trade on a big scale or as petty merchants. The rest —
 463 and they are the majority — are employed either by the government, the
 oil company, the British military and civil establishment, or other foreign
 business concerns in the country. They work mostly as clerks, foremen,
 cooks, waiters, and domestic servants.

464 Various explanations have been made as to why Indians are employed in
 563 such large numbers in preference to local Bahrainis or persons from other
 nationalities. In the first place, Bahrain does not have enough young men
 with a minimum of education and clerical or industrial training to fill these
 positions. Secondly, in view of British policy to tie Bahrain to India, it
 was only natural to look to it for the necessary labor supply. Furthermore,
 India could supply labor well trained by the British and used to their ways.
 Finally, Indian labor could be obtained at a lower rate than equally skilled
 labor from other countries.

563 The status of Indians is a rather peculiar one, for they live in a social
 578 zone all by themselves. They are resented by the native population and
 accepted only as subordinates by Westerners, with whom they would like
 to associate and with whom they would like to be classified. This is true
 especially of the clerical and professional group among them.

The causes of Bahraini resentment against them are psychological and
 economic in nature. In the first place, they constitute a community which
 is definitely foreign and makes a point of it, and in some respects looks
 down on the local population. This is especially the case among the white-
 collar workers.

Secondly, on the whole, the Indian community wields power far beyond
 its number. The people in Bahrain see Indians in government and business
 establishments and develop the feeling that they are being governed by
 them along with the British.

In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other for-

¹² Census 1950, p. 6.

SOCIAL CLASSES AND TENSIONS IN BAHRAIN

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563 In the third place, clerical positions occupied by Indians and other
 578 foreigners are highly coveted by the high-school graduates of Bahrain. This
 554 must be understood within the context of traditional Arab respect for the
 scribe and the great power wielded until recent times by government
 employees: clerking represents a social position as well as a source of
 livelihood.

641 Finally, Indians are given privileges denied to Bahrainis. They are al-
 273 lowed, for instance, a monthly allotment of alcoholic beverages and certain
 563 public places are open to them and to Westerners only. The problem of
 578 alcohol is a delicate one in Bahrain. In accordance with Muslim law it is
 prohibited to all Muslims. Foreigners and non-Muslims, however, can
 obtain a monthly allotment at specified prices through a permit from the
 British Residency. The only two groups that can benefit from such an
 arrangement are the Westerners and the Indians, since most other for-
 eigners are Muslims.

563 An example of the resentment felt against the Indian clerks may be
 578 seen in the following letter to the newspaper *al-Qafilah* from an indignant
 191 Bahraini criticizing the Post Office Department:

I came to the post office window with a large number of greeting cards which
 I wanted to send to friends outside Bahrain. I inquired from the clerk whether
 there were any special rates? Snatching the cards from my hands, he gave me an
 answer in a strange language, the only part of which I understood was "three
 annas and a half."

It is strange that this department continues to employ clerks who do not under-
 stand the language of the country. In this connection, I remember that a short time
 ago I sent my manservant with a piece of paper on which I had written in Arabic
 the quantity of stamps I wanted of each denomination. Shortly afterwards he
 came back very angry. He told me that the clerk threw him out of the building
 and ordered him to "tell [your master] to write in Indian, Persian, or English.
 . . . We are not Arabs."¹²

609 A factor which also has considerable effect on the attitude of the native
 toward foreigners is the development of the oil industry in Saudi Arabia
 and Kuwait. In Saudi Arabia the political climate has been such that the
 native is truly master of his house. The moment the foreigner, and par-
 ticularly the Westerner, steps on Saudi Arabian soil, government officials
 and civilians alike do not hesitate to remind him in a thousand ways that
 he is in an independent country, that he is only a temporary guest, and that
 his sojourn in the country depends on good behavior. The Arabian Ameri-
 can Oil Company, as part of its public relations policy, cooperates with
 the government fully in this respect and it is a well-known fact that a
 number of its American employees have been sent home for minor infrac-
 tions of the local law or for being in some way rude to the native
 inhabitants.

Bahrain is only a few miles away from Saudi Arabia. Stories of how

¹² *al-Qafilah*, January 2, 1953.